1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

many come uninvited, bringing small presents to the bride in order to be able to take part in the *tchopee*. This national dance of the Kūrds is very similar to the Greek *hora*. The performers join hands in a semicircle, and balance their bodies backwards and forwards, marking time, first with one foot and then with the other, accompanying their movements with wild shrieks at intervals. The step is, however, less animated and varied than that of the *hora*, and has been described as "a soft undulating movement of the whole circle in harmony with the music, like a field of corn set in motion by the wind." During its performance, the Kūrdish warrior will affect the most sentimental and romantic expression of countenance, especially when dancing with his sweetheart, which is customary at small gatherings where no strangers are present. On other occasions the men and women dance separately, though the latter even then lay aside their veils, no matter how great the crowd of spectators.

The music to which they dance is chiefly that of the *bilwan*, a kind of reed-flute, several of which are played in unison. Its tones are soft and pleasing, though somewhat monotonous, Kūrdish music being in general, unlike Turkish and Persian, characterised by regular modulations. The airs are, for the most part, grave and melancholy, and would seem to be inspired by sentiments which one would hardly expect to find in the breasts of wild clansmen whose name has become familiar to us only in connection with violence and pillage.

At weddings, the *tchopee* is kept up for hours by

One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 136
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognized. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re- [761]
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

Such festivals are marked by dancing and music, 527 796
and, as these are subjects in themselves, only the
briefest descriptions are presented here. The usual 535
type of dance is that of the sha'i, the wedding celebration, and is performed by a circle of men and women with interlocked arms following a leader, the rear usually brought up by the host of the party or his deputy. The dance has three variations, saypay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's right hand," shapay'i, "going in the direction of the leader's left hand, and raw'in "walking instead of dancing, and changing step." The dance step itself, for want of a better description, is a shuffle which takes one in a lateral direction. Kurdish 533
music is similar to that of the Arabs, the Iranians, and the Turks, a single melodic line in a minor key, characterized by the appoggiatura and turn, against a rhythmic background. Musical instruments, in Rowandus 534
played only by amateurs, include the small drum, the tambourine, and the single or double reed flute. The lute is also widely used by the Kurds, but it is not found at present in the town. A program of typical 207 533
Kurdish music may be heard broadcast daily by an Iraq [123]
government radio station. The investigator usually tuned in this music for the benefit of the women of the house in which he was living at Rowandus. Once the 871
eldest daughter presented a request that "the boy tell [207]
the man" to play a certain song she wanted to hear at the moment, which indicated a sixteen-year old girl's knowledge of radio.

knowledge of radio. She also always referred to the investigator as "the gentleman from Mosul," the farthest point of her geography. Without entering into extended discussion, it might be said here, in concluding the remarks on adult entertainment, that the educational level of the townspeople, excepting those who have attended school, is extremely low. One often offered persons of the lower class in Rowanduz and later in Egypt a small sum if they could name the first four caliphs, equivalent to asking an American or European Christian for the names of the first four books of the New Testament, and it was surprising how few were able to accomplish this seemingly easy feat. 871 [823]

If a man feels that he is approaching death, he often makes out his will in advance, a formality regulated by the government and arranged through the court of the judge. If a rich person has been unable to make the pilgrimage to Mecca during his lifetime, he usually sets aside a certain amount to be paid to someone who will make the journey in his name. Persons of great wealth or chieftains occasionally allot sums to be given to poor people who visit their graves and recite a prayer for them. 763 [428] [788] [765]

When death takes place, all of the female relatives of the deceased and their friends gather at the house. "A certain old woman comes who sings in such a way that the people weep. This is Amina Bakin who is also the corpse-washer, mirdu shor, for the women. She earns her livelihood by serving in the houses of the rich, 764 767 [533]

Twice during the night, Hajji Mustafa makes a round of the streets, drumming loudly on his giant tambourine. At various points he stops and shouts, Salawat, salawat 'ala al-Nabi, "Prayers, prayers for the Prophet," and in between these stages he sings various songs in Kurdish of his own devising. These two parades are to inform people that they may arise and enjoy another meal before sunrise, but, inasmuch as Hajji Mustafa and the pack of dogs which follows him make a great uproar, there is a certain amount of discontent. "Curse Hajji," the investigator's landlord grumbled, as he rose from his bed in the courtyard. 785 796 [203] [533]

Four weeks of absolute fasting between sunrise and sunset are not without hardship, particularly for those who must continue to labor. It is considered improper to smoke on the streets, and only one tea-shop, carefully masked, is allowed to remain open durhg the day. A number of persons make no pretence of keeping the fast, although they do not demonstrate this fact in public, and others, beginning with good resolve, fall from grace after a number of days. It is interesting that Hajji Mustafa, the person who fires the evening gun and makes the nocturnal announcements, the "religious fanatic," for want of a better terms, did not feel bound by such restraints, considering that his extraordinary reationship with God absolved him from the ordinary demand of the faith. Quarrels and fights are more frequent during Ramadan than any other season of the year, and there are "secret eaters" [579]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957), 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea houses, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 92. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakzwa.

harmonization, so, as Ekrem[39] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20–30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280–81), referred to by Hay[40], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played.

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[534]

To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's side comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakzwa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the village, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance.

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The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's carriage, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house,

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